1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

412 rubbing face-paint, for bruising woody tissue to aid in breaking ekatilla poles for house-frames or mesquite roots for harpoons (both afterward finished by firing), and on occasion for weapons; and this many-functioned tool is initially but a wave-worn pebble, is artificially shaped only by the wear of use, and is incontinently discarded when sharp edges are produced by use or fortuitous fracture. The hupf is supplemented chiefly by the simple perforator of mandible or bone or fire-hardened wood; and these two primitive implements, together with molluscan shells in natural condition, apparently serve as the primary tools for all the mechanical operations of the tribe.

● 726 The dearth of tools and the absence not only of knives but of knife-sense among the Seri illumine those traditions of Seri fighting made tangible by the teeth-torn arm of Jesus Omada; for they explain the alleged recourse of the Seri warriors to nature's weapons, used in the centripetal fashion characteristic of nascent intelligence.

186 The Seri are distinguished by another trait hardly less striking than the pedestrian habit, and even more conspicuous than the tooth-and-nail habit with the correlative absence of tool-sense; the trait is not tangible enough for ready definition or description in terms (of course because so unusual as not to have bred words for its expression), but is akin to—or, more properly, an exceeding intensification of—race-pride in all its protean manifestations; it may be called *race-sense*. Like other primitive folk, the Seri are self-centered (or egocentric) in individual thought, i. e., they habitually think of the extraneous phenomena of their little universe with reference to self, as in the labyrinth of consanguineal relationship extending and ramifying from the speaker; furthermore, they typify primitive culture in their collective thinking, which is tribe-centered (or ethnocentric), i. e., they view extraneous things, especially those of animate nature, with reference to the tribe, like all those lowly folk who denote themselves by the most dignified terms in their vocabulary and designate aliens by opprobrious epithets; but the Seri outpass most, if not all, other tribes in dignifying themselves and derogating contemporary aliens. Concordantly with this habitual sentiment, they glory in their strength and swiftness, and are inordinately proud of their fine figures and excessively vain of their luxuriant locks—indeed, they seem to exalt their own bodies and their own kind well toward, if not beyond, the verge of inchoate deification. The obverse of the same sentiment appears in the hereditary hate and horror of aliens attested by their history, by their persistent blood-thirst, and by the rigorous marriage regulations adapted to the maintenance of tribal purity; for just as their highest virtue is the shedding of alien blood, so is their blackest crime the transmission of their own blood into alien channels. The potency of the sentiment is established by the unparalleled isolation of the tribe after centuries of contact with Caucasians, by their irreducible love of native soil, by their implacable animosity toward invaders, and by

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1; McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

is an infallible remedy. On the whole it seems probable that the yerba mala (*Sebastiana bilocularis?*), or yerba de flécha, or mago, or magot, yielded or formed the standard arrow-poison of the Opata and perhaps of other Indians, and that the ill-repute of the shrub survived and spread throughout Mexicanized Sonora in such frequent repetition and common belief as to affect the ideas of residents and travelers alike; but it seems equally probable that the magic-inspired brew of the Seri is entirely distinct.[1]

As suggested by widespread primitive customs, and as illustrated specifically by the arrow-charming, the warfare of the Seri is largely sortilegic, this feature being but an extension and magnification of a corresponding feature of their hunting customs. The economic object of the chase is, of course, the flesh of the quarry; but the hunt normally begins with invocatory or other fiducial ceremonies, culminates in a feast opened with oblations, and ends in the use of horns or hoofs, teeth or bones, mane or tail, as talisman-trophies—primarily pledges of fealty to the favorable potencies, only secondarily symbols of success. The observances illumine the ever-present esoteric object of the chase, which is to gain the favor or overcome the power of the beast-god represented by the animal hunted; in general, this is sought to be effected through mimetic movements, or symbolic objects, associated with that animal-kind, and the retained charm-trophy is valued as a symbol of the placation or outwitting of a particular deity. Similarly, the Seri warrior strives for the supposed deific symbols of the enemy—the scalp or headdress or arrow of the alien tribesman, the fire-breathing and echo-waking (as well as death-dealing) wand of the Caucasian; and the Papago arrows, Yaqui scalps, and white man's firearms are sought avidly, treasured as fetishes, and often carried conspicuously as badges of borrowed prowess.[2] So the Seri are never without alien insignia in the form of weapons. The day before the 1895 expedition entered their stronghold, a band of warriors and women were frightened from a freshly slaughtered cow by a party of vaqueros so suddenly that their arms were left behind—and these

[1] It should be noted that the actuality of the poisonous property ascribed to the yerba mala is in some degree questionable; the plant is the only one of southern Papaguería yielding suitable material for arrow-shafts, and it is possible (if not probable) that it was consecrated to this purpose by the aboriginal Opata and protected by tabu in such wise as to become a sacred and fearsome thing. It is accordingly by no means improbable that the reputed poisonous property is but the product of generations of association, and that the plant is really harmless—an inference supported by experiments on the part of the leader of the 1895 expedition, who swallowed the juice of stem and leaves in two or three minute but increasing doses without perceptible effect. (On the other hand, it should be observed that the region is one abounding in toxic juices, and that this shrub is so luxuriant and so free from thorny armament and other protective devices of a mechanical sort as to raise the presumption that it must be protected against herbivorous animals, at least, by chemical constituents of some kind (cf. ante, p. 30).

[2] These motives on the part of the Seri were reciprocated by their tribal enemies; a Papago fetish in the form of an Apache arrowpoint, long worn by an aged warrior as a protection from Apache arrows, was among the spoil of the 1894 expedition; and a "poisoned" Seri arrowhead and foreshaft, worn by a supposed Papago "doctor" as a badge of invulnerability to similar missiles, was confidently shown to the 1895 expedition, but was held above price by its wearer—and this despite the fact that he had been christianized for decades, and retained no other pagan symbols.

1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

included a heavy Springfield "remodeled" rifle, lacking not only ammunition but breechblock and firing pin; while Don Andrés Noriega, of Costa Rica, and L. K. Thompson, of Hermosillo, described a rifle of modern make captured similarly two years before, which was in good working order and charged with a counterfeit cartridge ingeniously fashioned from raw buckskin in imitation of a center-fire brass shell and loaded with a polished stone bullet.[1] The finders opined that the rifles were carried to bluff the enemy, and even that the counterfeit cartridge was designed to do deadly execution; but it would better accord with Seri customs, and with the law of piratical acculturation which they typify,[2] to infer that the weapons were regarded rather as symbols of mystical potencies than as simple scarecrows. Of related import were two or three pseudomachetes made from rust-pitted cask hoops, reported by the majordomo and several vaqueros at Costa Rica; and of still greater significance was a machete picked up in a just-abandoned jacal by Don Ygnacio Lozania—veteran of the Andrade expedition and the Encinas conquest—which was laboriously rasped and scraped out of paloblanco wood, colored in imitation of iron blade and mahogany handle by means of face-paints, and even furnished with "eyes" replacing the handle-rivets, in the form of embedded iron scales. Some of the Seri are familiar with the normal use of firearms, as was demonstrated by the Robinson and other episodes, and many of them modernly make some use of machetes or other knives, as shown by various rudely whittled wooden artifacts; yet the burden of proof indicates that the chief use of the Caucasian's weapons in the heat of actual warfare is shamanistic and symbolic. This interpretation is, in fact, practically established by the experience of the frontier; for the vaqueros and local soldiery have little fear of the ill-understood firearms and clumsily handled machetes occasionally seen in Seri hands, though they dread unspeakably the necromantic arrows and flesh-rending teeth with which the agile foes are credited.

The mystical potency ascribed to Caucasian firearms and cutlery by the zoomimic tribesmen is of interest as a reflection of motives and methods pervading the entire range of their activities; at the same time it suggests the genesis of the aberrant technolithic craft displayed in arrow-chipping. The information obtained from Mashém and his mates concerning chipped arrowpoints implied that the process was hieratic and little understood by the body of the tribe, its place in the tribal knowledge, indeed, being similar to that of the brewing of the arrow "poison", which is the special work of shamans; and this information, comporting as it does with the rarity of the chipped points and

[1] The imitative skill of the Seri was illustrated at Costa Rica some years ago, when the petty accounts for labor, etc., were kept by means of tokens stamped from sheet brass. While a Seri rancheria was maintained near the rancho, the storekeeper detected a number of counterfeits of his tokens, so well executed as to pass readily over the counter in ordinary exchange—and after extended detective work the counterfeiting was traced to the rancheria.

[2] American Anthropologist, vol. 11, August, 1898, pp. 313-348.

1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

the crudeness of the work, strongly supports the inference that the stone arrow-making of the Seri was originally a fetishistic mimicry of alien devices—a plane, indeed, above which the craft has hardly risen even in recent decades.

While the Seri are devoid of military tactics in the strict sense of the term, they have certain customs of warfare which seem to be scrupulously observed. These customs are closely akin to those followed in hunting the larger land animals—indeed, the warfare of the tribe is merely an intensified counterpart of their chase.

The favorite tactical device of the warriors, as indicated by the great majority of their battles, is the ambuscade, laid and sprung either with or without the aid of decoys (usually aged women). Sometimes a considerable body act in concert under a prearranged plan; more commonly a few warriors only are involved at the outset, though these may be joined as the crisis approaches by companions lurking behind rocks and shrubs to be either on hand at the finish or in the way of ready flight, according to the turn of the battle-tide; and it is probable that the greater part of the ambuscades prove stillborn by reason of the oozing courage of leaders and the shirking of their supporters if the prospective victims present a bold front, or if the final omens are otherwise adverse. The ambuscade, with its flying contingent, grades into the device of stalking a stationary or slowly moving enemy, the stealthy approach terminating either in covert attack at close range or in sudden rush by a superior force. The theory, or rather the instinctive plan, of the campaign is to seek advantage in both position and numbers, to keep under cover until the instant of attack, to have sure and ample lines of retreat, and in every way to minimize individual risk.

There is a widespread notion toward the Seri frontier that the savages are given to sorties and surprises by night; but both specific testimony and the records indicate, when carefully analyzed, that this tactical device is much less common in practice than in repute, and is not, indeed, characteristic of the tribe. A few known battles began in attacks by night; but the war parties, like the hunting and fishing parties (save in the semiceremonial pelican pilgrimages), display decided preference for daylight in their forays—indeed, there are various indications that the folk are much more timid and oppressed with superstitious fears by night than by day.

In rare cases small parties of aliens have been half openly surrounded and done to death by considerably larger parties of the savage folk; but this method, too, is incongruous with the fixed habits of the tribe and with the deep-planted instinct of avoiding personal exposure.

A considerable number of the long list of homicides charged against the Seri, and marking the beginning of many of their battles, were individual rather than collective, the consummation of inimical impulse sometimes treacherously concealed for favorable opportunity, as in the

1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

186 pitiful case of Fray Cristobal Gil, and othertimes rising explosively
648 beyond the feeble control of the untrained mind; for the impulse of enmity toward aliens is an ever-present possession—or obsession—of the tribe, and a reflection of that race-sense which is their most distinctive attribute.

726 Of open warfare and face-to-face fighting there is hardly a germ among the Seri. When themselves ambushed or surrounded, some of their stouter warriors have in a few instances faced the foe for a few minutes at a time, as is shown by the annals of Cerro Prieto; yet this accidental attitude but betokens the play of chance rather than the plan of choice. Concordantly, the folk avoid the method of warfare (so common among other Amerind tribes as to be properly considered characteristic) involving open duel between chiefs and other warriors; they seem to be devoid of that sense of fairness in fighting which finds expression in the duel; and despite the individual advantages growing out of gigantic stature, immense strength, and superior swiftness, they habitually seek to combine in numbers against panicked or baffled enemies, just as their hunters throw themselves mercilessly on surrounded quarry. Of open boldness or confident prowess no trace appears; and the body of facts seems to justify the prevailing Sonoran opinion that the warfare of the Seri is treacherous and cowardly in design, craven and cruel in execution.

Once begun, the conduct of the fray by the Seri fighters is fairly uniform; the warriors either discharge clouds of arrows from their coigns of vantage, or rush to brain their victims with stones, or to break their necks and limbs and crush in their chests, as in the slaughtering of quarry; and according to the tale of the occasional survivors—Señor Pascual Encinas and his son Manuel, Don Ygnacio
[115] Lozania, Don Andrés Noriega, Don Jesus Omada of Bacuachito, and Don Ramon Noriega of Pozo Noriega, are among the survivors and informants; also the stardy Papago fighters, Mariano, Anton, Miguel, and Anton Castillo (whose sister died of dread while he was on the 1895 expedition)—the rushing warriors are transfigured with frenzy; their eyes blaze purple and green, their teeth glisten through snarling lips, their hair half rises in bristling mane, while their huge chests swell and their lithe limbs quiver in a fury sudden and blind and overpowering as that of springing puma or charging peccary. Of the successful assaults the ghastly end is rarely recorded, though whispered large in the lore of Sonora; in the unsuccessful assaults recounted by survivors the blood-frenzy burned but briefly and died swiftly as the disappointed warriors skulked silently behind rocks and shrubs, or fled across the sands with inconceivable fleetness. These details of battle precisely parallel the details of butchery of beastly quarry, as recounted by local observers and corroborated by Mashém's recitals.

266 So far as can be ascertained the parallelism between frenzied battling
727 and furious butchery in the chase affords the chief basis for the firm

1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

Sonoran belief that the similarity extends one step further, and that the human victims are rent and consumed, like the beasts. There is a lamentable lack of data concerning the alleged anthropophagy of the Seri; on the one hand there is the deep-seated local opinion, generally growing stronger as the tribal territory is approached, and agreeing so well with the hunting customs, the thaumaturgic arrow-poisoning, the zoomimic handicraft, and zootheistic faith, and especially with the pervading fetish-piracy of the folk, that its validity would seem inherently probable; on the other hand, there is not only a dearth of specific positive testimony, but hacendero Encinas (best informed among Caucasians concerning Seri customs) and several of his yeomen reject the prevailing belief, while Mashém consistently repudiated the custom, both in general and in particular, and in ceremonial as well as in economic aspects, whenever and in whatever way the subject was approached during his intercourse with the 1894 expedition. On the whole, the much-mooted question of Seri cannibalism must be left open pending further inquiry, with some preponderance of evidence against the existence of the custom.

The war-frenzy of the Seri fighters is significant in its parallelism with the blood-craze of the chase, and even more so in its analogy with the warpath customs and ceremonies of most Amerind tribes and many other primitive peoples. In typical tribes the warpath custom is a most distinctive one, standing for an abnormal state of mind and an unaccustomed habit of body, perhaps to the extent of an extreme exaltation or obsession akin to intoxication, in which the ordinary ideas of justice and humanity are inhibited; among most tribes the condition is sought voluntarily and deliberately when occasion is thought to demand, and is superinduced by fasts and vigils, exciting songs and ceremonies, and related means; while among certain tribes the aid of symbolic "medicines", which may be actual intoxicants, is invoked. Thus the savage on the warpath is a different being from the same man in times of peace; viewed from his own standpoint, he is possessed of an alien and violent demon, usually that of a fantastic and furious beast-god whose rage he must symbolize and enact; viewed from the standpoint of higher culture, he is a raving and ruthless maniac whose craze is none the less complete by reason of its voluntary origin. The warpath frenzy is one of the fundamental, even if little understood, facts of primitive life, and the character of the savage tribe can not properly be weighed without appreciation of it. Now, the Seri blood-craze seems measurably distinct in two ways: in the first place, it expresses a more profound and bitter enmity toward aliens than is found among most savage tribes—i. e., it is instinctive and persistent in exceptional degree; in the second place, it is more spontaneous and explosive in its culmination when conditions favor than among tribesmen who induce the condition by elaborate preparation—i. e., it is dependent on the swift-changing hazard of warfare in exceptional

1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

171 measure; so that the Seri frenzy is at once more instinctive and more
●726 fortuitous, or in general terms more inchoate, than the corresponding condition among most of their contemporaries. Accordingly the war customs, like several other features of the tribe, seem to afford a connecting link between the habits normal to carnivorous beasts and the well-organized war customs of somewhat higher culture-grades; and thus they contribute toward outlining the course of human development through some of its darker stages.

712 Conformably with their poverty in offensive devices, the Seri are exceedingly poor in devices for defense. It is an impressive fact that a restricted motherland which has been successfully protected against invasion for nearly four centuries of history should be destitute of earthworks, fortifications, barricades, palisades, or other protective structures; yet no such structures exist on any of the natural lines of approach, and none are known anywhere in Seriland save in a single spot—Tinaja Trinchera—where there are a few walls of loose-laid stone, so unlike anything else in Seriland and so like the structures characteristic of Papagueria as to strongly indicate (if not to demonstrate) invasion and temporary occupancy by aliens. The jacales are not fortified in the slightest degree, unless the turtle-shells with which they are sometimes shingled be regarded as armor; even the most ancient rancherias are absolutely devoid of contravallations of earth, stone, or other material; and both the structures themselves and the expressions of the folk concerning them indicate that the jacales are not regarded as fortresses or places of refuge against enemies, but only as comfortable lodges for use in times of peace. Nor are walls like those of the borderland Tinaja Trinchera known in the interior of the tribal territory—e. g., the similarly conditioned Tinaja Anita, which differs only in the greater abundance and permanence of the water-supply, is entirely devoid of artificial structures, not even a pebble or bowlder being artificially placed save perchance by the casual trampling of the pathways. As already noted, the Seri seem to be practically devoid of knife-sense; they are still more completely devoid of fort-sense, although (and evidently because) they rely so fully on natural things, including tutelaries and their own fleetness, for safety.

713 Although devoid of even the germ of fortification-sense, so far as can be discovered, the Seri are not without a sort of shield-sense, which is of much significance partly by reason of its inchoate character. The ordinary shield is a pelican pelt, or a robe or kilt comprising several skins; it is employed either for confusing the enemy by swift brandishing, something after the fashion of the capa of the banderillero in the bull ring, or for actual protection of the body against arrows and other missiles or weapons. So far as known it is not backed or otherwise strengthened, the user relying solely on the stout integument and
[825] thick feathers—or rather on the mystical properties imputed to the pelt as the mystery-tinged investiture of their chief creative tutelary.

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On the coast bucklers are improvised from turtle-shells, though, according to Mashém (confirmed by direct observation), these are not carried inland for the purpose; but the protective function imputed to the turtle was well represented in the rancherís at Costa Rica by several fetishes made from phalanges of turtle-flippers tricked out in rags in imitation of Caucasian dress (somewhat like the mortuary fetishes illustrated in figure 40*a* and *b*). On the whole, the most conspicuous feature of the individual shields or protectors is their emblematic character; they are sortilegic rather than practical, and express imputation of mystical potencies rather than recognition of actual properties; and in this as in other respects they correspond closely with the offensive devices, and aid in defining the ideas and motives of the primitive warriors.

The actually effective protection of the Seri in warfare is their fleetness, coupled with their habitual and constitutional timidity, i. e., their wildness—for they are verily, as their Mexican neighbors say, "gente muy bronco". Moreover, they are adepts in concealing their persons and their movements behind shrubbery and rocks, and in finding cover on the barest plains; and suggestions are not wanting that the protecting shrub-clumps and rocks of their wonted ranges are credited with occult powers and elevated to the lower places of their zoic pantheon, after the customary way of that overpowering zootheism, or animism, which the Seri so well exemplify in many of their habits.

Summarily, the warfare of the Seri complements the pacific industries of the tribe in every essential respect. It is notable for improvidence, i. e., for reliance on chance; the dearth of devices for offense and defense parallels the poverty in industrial artifacts; and the disregard of fortifications is of a kind with the squandering of present food supplies and the utter neglect of provision for the future. A striking correspondence between workfare and warfare is found in the fierce blood-lust displayed alike in chase and battle, a feature manifestly borrowed from beasts and intensified by besetting beast-faith; and more striking still is the correspondence in motive, as revealed by the overlapping functions of the protective kilt, by the borrowing of animal symbols alike in peace and war, and by the imitation of animal movements on the warpath as in the chase.

In the last synthesis the warfare of the Seri may be considered as characterized by two attributes: (1) The motives, so far as developed, are zoomimic in even greater degree than the prevailing motives of the pacific industries; and (2) the methods are shaped largely by mechanical chance, like those normal to protolithic industry.

Nascent Industrial Development

Industries form the chief bond between man and his environment. The esthetic activities arise in the individual and extend to his fellows; the institutional activities express the relations among individual men

3:Davis & Dawson E-5 (1922-1940) 1945
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THE SAVAGE SERIS OF SONORA—II*

By EDWARD H. DAVIS AND E. YALE DAWSON

The beginning of Seri wars was the year 1700 during which they first conducted nocturnal raids on some of the most outlying of the Jesuit mission pueblos of Sonora, killing inhabitants with their arrows and stealing the cattle and horses. Year after year, the gradual expansion of Sonoran settlements and their nearer approach to the borders of the Seri homeland aggravated the conditions of conflict. The vigorous proselyting expeditions of the Jesuit missionaries brought about the capture of some hundred women, children, cripples and vieilards of the Seris, and concurrently the death of many defending warriors. These expeditions further kindled the hatred of the free Seri against the white man, while the few score "converts" gathered about the several missions gained a shocking character for sloth, filth, thievery, treachery, obstinacy and drunkenness. Raids upon the settlements continued and between 1757 and 1763 4,000 mules, mares and horses were known to have been stolen and eaten.

[p. 261(B)] [text continues on p. 262(A)]

3:Davis & Dawson E-5 (1922-1946) 1945
NUSI Seri NUSI

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FIG. 14. JUAN TOMAS AND NEPHEW
OLD SERI CHIEF BEFORE CHICO ROMERO AND VETERAN OF MANY WARS, IN 1926 AT THE AGE OF 94 YEARS.

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The further extension of settlements necessitated the establishment of military posts from which troops were sent out, first by one, then another governor of Sonora, to destroy all Seris they might find and to discourage their wanton looting and killing. If a strong force was sent out, it was frequently ambushed and many soldiers were left on the field, transfixed by arrows. Many small forces left never to be heard from again. In 1780 an army of national troops met the Seris in several bloody battles in their Cerro Prieto, and claimed to have exterminated the tribe. Yet the Indians retained sufficient vitality to continue their sanguinary raids

[p. 262 (A)]

648 726 on the settlements of Sonora. Many expeditions, fitted out at great expense, were sent against them, but in that barren land, destitute of water, the military parties suffered greatly in their campaigns, and succeeded little in their efforts to conquer the wary natives.

177 648 By 1850 probably every Seri between infancy and decrepitude had seen the proprietor and other inhabitants of the rancho of Don Pascual Encinas at Costa Rica where the Seris were abnormally tolerated and even encouraged to make themselves useful and unobjectionable. They yielded to indolent scavengering more than ever before; they substituted cast-off rags and barter-bought cotton cloth for their pelican robes and other primitive garments. They ate cooked food when it fell their way; half heartedly they adopted metal cutting implements and sought or stole nails and hoop-iron for arrow [191] points. Some acquired a smattering of Spanish and many came to sport Spanish names. Never, however, did more than one or two Seris come to live in a house, nor even to encompass the idea of making adobe. They had not learned to ride horses nor to burden them, but only to use them for immediate slaughter and consumption. They were acquainted with firearms, but it was not until years later that they learned to use them. In and about Rancho Costa Rica the Seris and the Mexicans lived for a time in mutual tolerance, certain depredations being allowed the Indians just as were the rodents of the rancheria.

648 721 When, in 1855, Don Pascual Encinas experienced the loss of unusually large numbers of stock from Seri raids, he was aroused into announcing that a Seri head would be taken for each head of stock stolen. For a while the Indians seemed to acquiesce, but within a few days a group of Seri women "milled" a band of horses, caught and threw one so that its neck was broken, whereupon [252] they immediately sucked its blood, gorged on its intestines, and buried its quarters to "ripen" according to their custom. The vaqueros of the settlement were instructed to shoot the first Seri seen on the llano. Within two days the tribe was on the warpath and the war raged for a decade.

[p.262(B)]

3:Davis & Dawson E-5 (1923-1940) 1945
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The Encinas war reduced the tribe to some 350 people, and temporarily discouraged their bloodthirsty raids. By 1893, however, new killings were being reported. In one instance the Seri Chief, Juan Tomas (Fig. 14), watched as the men of a large rancho left for a rodeo and then, worming up through the brush, led his warriors into the buildings and with clubs and arrows massacred every woman and child within. Two Yaqui women who had managed to escape into the brush watched as the warriors seized the infants by their feet and dashed their brains out against a large rock near the corral.

In 1904 a number of wilder Seri, led by several Yaquis, went on the warpath and killed every soul in a Papago village. The war with the Papagos that ensued aroused the Governor of Sonora into action. Nearly 250 armed men were sent out to kill or capture the Yaqui leaders and to administer a severe lesson to the Seris. The desert water holes were all placed under guard until the Seri chief, Juan Tomas, was forced to surrender for his thirsting tribesmen. Peace was conditional on the delivery of the Yaqui leaders with their hands tied together. Two days later a couple of gaunt, wild-looking Seri women, clothed in rags and with painted faces, walked into the camp to keep the conditions of the peace as they had understood them. They carried a palanca between them from which were suspended bundles of severed hands of the Yaquis who had been clubbed to death as they slept.

Twenty years after the delivery of the Yaqui hands (1922) the senior author, under arrangement with the Museum of the American Indian in New York, carried out his first expedition into the heart of Seriland. Although still intolerant of aliens and at times dangerous if aggravated, their depredations had been reduced to the occasional killing of a stray cow. The Seris had come to live a comparatively peaceful life under the supervision of Roberto Thomson of Hermosillo. It was through his efforts that the Seris were saved from complete extermination by the vaqueros of Sonora, and after having treated them for many years as a friend and adviser, he had made it feasible for a visitor to enter

[p.263(A)]

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BAND V

It was stated above that this band fought with Band II and then with Band I. Since Band V was likely killing cattle, they also may have been harassed by soldiers. Eventually Band V abandoned its territory near Punta Tepopa and headed south along the coast to a camp near present-day Bahia Kino. From this camp the entire group disappeared and was never seen again by members of the other bands. The Seri of today believe that Band V either traveled inland or was destroyed by a non-Seri force.

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BAND II

These people were rustlers and marauders. Government intervention in the situation was inevitable. The Seri recount the following final encounter between this group and the government forces.

The entire remaining membership of Band II was hiding out in a nearly inaccessible swamp thicket at Bahia Kino. Knowing that an armed force of soldiers and ranchers was searching for them, the people left their camp to seek safety elsewhere. Almost immediately they were attacked by the superior armed force which proceeded to wipe out the whole group. A youth who had avoided capture is said to have reported the affair to the Seri on Tiburon Island. This event may have occurred during the Encinas Wars fought from 1855 to 1865.

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BAND VI

The members of this band on San Esteban Island were little interested in the mainland and did not participate in the raids on man and livestock there. Nevertheless, they were to share in the severe punishment meted out to the bands guilty of multitudinous depredations.

Sometime after the massacre of Band II, a ship arrived at San Esteban, and many of the people were induced to go aboard. The rest of the inhabitants followed the ship to a camp on the eastern side of Tiburon Island where they were to receive gifts. As the people congregated, they were herded into a stone corral. Apparently, some of the San Esteban men were killed at this time. The rest of them, along with the women and children, were taken to Santa Rosa point on the mainland. Here, the Seri say, more of the men were killed. The remaining men were strung together by wire and led away, never to return.

The San Esteban women and children, along with some Tiburon Island women and children (of Band III), were taken in